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OPCENTER PLEASE ALERT EUR/RPM UPON RECEIPT

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: NATO

SUBJECT: ~~LETTER TO SENATOR PELL~~

1. ~~PLEASE PASS A COPY OF THIS TELEGRAM TO SENATOR~~
~~CLAIBORNE PELL FROM AMBASSADOR KEEL~~

2. BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN:

AT THE COMPLETION OF A VERY SUCSESSFUL SUMMIT, I WANTED
 YOU TO HAVE COPIES OF THE TWO SUMMIT STATEMENTS JUST
 ISSUED. WE ARE PARTICULARLY PLEASED WITH THE STATEMENT
 ON CONVENTIONAL STABILITY. IT PROCEEDS ON THE BASIS OF A
 STRONG COMMITMENT TO MAINTAINING OUR CONVENTIONAL
 CAPABILITIES AND DEFINES ALLIANCE NEGOTIATING GOALS IN
 TERMS LONG ADVOCATED BY THE UNITED STATES. I BELIEVE WE
 NOW HAVE A FIRM FOUNDATION FOR SUCCESSFUL PURSUIT OF
 WESTERN INTERESTS IN THIS IMPORTANT FIELD.

I LOOK FORWARD TO TALKING TO YOU SOON.

SINCERELY,
 ALTON G. KEEL, JR.
 AMBASSADOR

3. BEGIN SUMMIT STATEMENT ON CONVENTIONAL STABILITY,
 ISSUED MARCH 2 BY NATO HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT:

- CONVENTIONAL ARMS CONTROL: THE WAY AHEAD
 -

- STATEMENT BY THE HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT
 - PARTICIPATING IN THE MEETING OF THE
 - NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL IN BRUSSELS
 -

(2ND-3RD MARCH 1988)

AT HALIFAX IN 1986, OUR GOVERNMENTS ISSUED A CLEAR CALL
 TO STRENGTHEN STABILITY IN THE WHOLE OF EUROPE THROUGH
 CONVENTIONAL ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS. AT BRUSSELS
 LATER THAT YEAR THEY ELABORATED THE BASIC PURPOSES AND

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METHODS FOR SUCH NEGOTIATIONS.

THE MILITARY CONFRONTATION IN EUROPE IS THE RESULT, NOT THE CAUSE, OF THE PAINFUL DIVISION WHICH BURDENS THIS CONTINENT. WHILE SEEKING TO OVERCOME THIS DIVISION IN OTHER WAYS, WE ALSO SEEK SECURITY AND STABILITY IN EUROPE AT LOWEST POSSIBLE LEVEL OF ARMAMENTS. BOTH ARMS CONTROL AND ADEQUATE DEFENCE PROGRAMMES CAN CONTRIBUTE TOWARDS THIS GOAL.

A. THE PRESENT REALITIES

1. THE SOVIET UNION'S MILITARY PRESENCE IN EUROPE, AT A LEVEL FAR IN EXCESS OF ITS NEEDS FOR SELF-DEFENCE, DIRECTLY CHALLENGES OUR SECURITY AS WELL AS OUR HOPES FOR CHANGE IN THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN EUROPE. THUS THE CONVENTIONAL IMBALANCE IN EUROPE REMAINS AT THE CORE OF EUROPE'S SECURITY CONCERNS. THE PROBLEM IS TO A LARGE EXTENT A FUNCTION OF THE WARSAW PACT'S SUPERIORITY IN KEY UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 09 USNATO 01315

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CONVENTIONAL WEAPON SYSTEMS. BUT IT IS NOT ONLY A MATTER OF NUMERICAL IMBALANCES. OTHER ASYMMETRIES ARE ALSO IMPORTANT, FOR EXAMPLE:

THE WARSAW PACT, BASED ON THE SOVIET UNION'S FORWARD-DEPLOYED FORCES, HAS A CAPABILITY FOR SURPRISE ATTACK AND LARGE-SCALE OFFENSIVE ACTION; THE ALLIES NEITHER HAVE, NOR ASPIRE TO, SUCH A CAPABILITY;

THE COUNTRIES OF THE WARSAW PACT FORM A CONTIGUOUS LAND MASS; THOSE OF THE ALLIANCE ARE GEOGRAPHICALLY DISCONNECTED;

THE WARSAW PACT CAN GENERATE A MASSIVE REINFORCEMENT POTENTIAL FROM DISTANCES OF ONLY A FEW HUNDRED KILOMETRES; MANY ALLIED REINFORCEMENTS NEED TO CROSS THE ATLANTIC;

THE WARSAW PACT'S MILITARY POSTURE AND ACTIVITIES ARE STILL SHROUDED IN SECRECY, WHEREAS THOSE OF ALLIED COUNTRIES ARE TRANSPARENT AND UNDER PERMANENT PUBLIC SCRUTINY.

2. THESE ASYMMETRIES ARE COMPOUNDED BY THE DOMINANT PRESENCE IN EUROPE OF THE CONVENTIONAL ARMED FORCES OF THE SOVIET UNION. THEY REPRESENT 50 PERCENT OF ALL THE ACTIVE DIVISIONS IN EUROPE BETWEEN THE ATLANTIC AND THE URALS. THIS SOVIET CONVENTIONAL SUPERIORITY AND ITS MILITARY PRESENCE IN OTHER EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES SERVE A POLITICAL AS WELL AS A MILITARY FUNCTION. THEY CAST A SHADO OVER THE WHOLE OF EUROPE.

3. CONVENTIONAL ARMS CONTROL IS NOT MERELY A TECHNICAL

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 CORRECTIVE TO A SELF-CONTAINED PROBLEM. IT SHOULD BE
 SEEN IN A COHERENT POLITICAL AND SECURITY FRAMEWORK.

B. A POLITICAL AND SECURITY FRAMEWORK

 -

- 4.
 WE REITERATE OUR CONVICTION THAT MILITARY FORCES SHOULD
 ONLY EXIST TO PREVENT WAR AND TO ENSURE SELF DEFENCE, NOT
 FOR THE PURPOSE OF INITIATING AGGRESSION AND NOT FOR THE
 PURPOSES OF POLITICAL OR MILITARY INTIMIDATION. OUR
 ABILITY TO PREVENT EVERY KIND OF WAR, NUCLEAR OR
 CONVENTIONAL, RESTS ON OUR CAPACITY AND DETERMINATION TO
 DETER ANY FORM OF AGGRESSION. ALL THE ALLIES' MILITARY
 RESOURCES ARE DESIGNED TO CONTRIBUTE TO THAT OBJECTIVE.
 THIS APPROACH IS SHARED ALIKE BOTH BY THOSE ALLIES WHO
 BELONG TO THE INTEGRATED MILITARY ORGANISATION AND BY
 THOSE WHO DO NOT.

- 5.
 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL FORCES
 IS COMPLEX. THE EXISTENCE OF A CONVENTIONAL IMBALANCE IN
 FAVOUR OF THE WARSAW PACT IS NOT THE ONLY REASON FOR THE
 PRESENCE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN EUROPE. THE COUNTRIES OF
 THE ALLIANCE ARE, AND WILL REMAIN, UNDER THE THREAT OF
 SOVIET NUCLEAR FORCES OF VARYING RANGES. ALTHOUGH
 CONVENTIONAL PARITY WOULD BRING IMPORTANT BENEFITS FOR
 STABILITY, ONLY THE NUCLEAR ELEMENT CAN CONFRONT A
 POTENTIAL AGGRESSOR WITH AN UNACCEPTABLE RISK;
 THEREFORE, THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE DETERRENCE WILL
 CONTINUE TO REQUIRE AN ADEQUATE MIX OF NUCLEAR AS WELL AS
 CONVENTIONAL FORCES.

- 6.
 H?BCE THE DETERMINATION OF OUR NATIONS TO ENSURE DEFENCE
 PREPARED?SS AS A MEANS OF ACHIEVING THE STABILITY WE
 SEEK. WE WILL CONTINUE TO ENSURE THAT OUR MILITARY
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FORCES ARE EFFECTIVE AND UP-TO-DATE, IN PARTICULAR BY:

-
 CONTINUED COMPLIANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF SHARED RISKS
 AND RESPONSIBILITIES AND ACCEPTANCE OF THE PRIORITIES
 ESSENTIAL TO THE STRENGTHENING OF OUR DEFENCE
 CAPABILITIES;

-
 PROVISION OF ADEQUATE DEFENCE EXPENDITURE, TOGETHER WITH
 EFFORTS TO OBTAIN THE GREATEST RETURN ON OUR DEFENCE
 INVESTMENT;

-
 CLOSER COOPERATION DESIGNED TO REMEDY KEY DEFICIENCIES
 AND, IN THIS CONTEXT, SUPPORT FOR RECENT LEGISLATIVE AND
 OTHER INITIATIVES DESIGNED TO FOSTER COOPERATION IN THE
 AREA OF CONVENTIONAL ARMAMENTS, ESPECIALLY RESEARCH,
 DEVELOPMENT, PRODUCTION AND PROCUREMENT;

-
 HELPING TO MEET THE NEEDS OF THE LESS ADVANTAGED ALLIES
 IN STRENGTHENING THEIR CONVENTIONAL DEFENCES, THUS
 REDRESSING IMPORTANT EXISTING DEFICIENCIES.

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- 7.
IT WILL BE IMPORTANT THAT DEFENCE AND ARMS CONTROL POLICIES REMAIN IN HARMONY IN ORDER TO ENSURE THEIR COMPLEMENTARY CONTRIBUTION TO SECURITY OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE. IN FRAMING THEIR NEGOTIATING PROPOSALS FOR CONVENTIONAL STABILITY THE ALLIES WILL ENSURE THAT THE CONTINUED REQUIREMENT FOR DETERRENCE AND DEFENCE IS NOT PREJUDICED; ACCORDINGLY THEY WILL NEITHER MAKE NOR ACCEPT PROPOSALS WHICH WOULD INVOLVE AN EROSION OF THE ALLIES' NUCLEAR DETERRENT CAPABILITY.

- 8.
SECURITY IN EUROPE INVOLVES NOT JUST MILITARY, BUT ALSO POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND, ABOVE ALL, HUMANITARIAN FACTORS. WE LOOK FORWARD TO A EUROPE UNDIVIDED, IN WHICH PEOPLE OF ALL STATES CAN FREELY RECEIVE IDEAS AND INFORMATION; ENJOY THEIR FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS; AND DETERMINE THEIR OWN FUTURE. ALLIED FORCES ARE STATIONED OUTSIDE THEIR NATIONAL TERRITORY TO PROTECT THESE VALUES AND TO UPHOLD THE SOLIDARITY OF OUR FREE ALLIANCE. THEY CANNOT THEREFORE BE EQUATED WITH SOVIET FORCES STATIONED IN EASTERN EUROPE. A JUST AND LASTING PEACEFUL ORDER IN EUROPE REQUIRES THAT ALL STATES ENJOY RELATIONS OF CONFIDENCE WITH THEIR OWN CITIZENS; TRUST THEM TO MAKE POLITICAL OR ECONOMIC CHOICES OF THEIR OWN; AND ALLOW THEM TO RECEIVE INFORMATION FROM AND EXCHANGE IDEAS WITH CITIZENS OF OTHER STATES.

- 9.
CONVENTIONAL ARMS CONTROL TALKS SHOULD BE GUIDED BY A COHERENT POLITICAL VISION WHICH REFLECTS THESE VALUES. IT WAS THEIR ADHERENCE TO THIS VISION WHICH ENABLED THE ALLIES TO SECURE A SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME TO THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE. IT IS THESE SAME CONSIDERATIONS THAT HAVE
LED THE ALLIES TO DECIDE THAT BOTH THE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH THEY HAVE NOW PROPOSED, ON CONVENTIONAL STABILITY, AS WELL AS THOSE ON CONFIDENCE AND SECURITY-BUILDING MEASURES, WILL BE UNDERTAKEN WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE CSCE PROCESS.

- 10.
THOSE ON CONFIDENCE AND SECURITY BUILDING WILL INVOLVE ALL 35 CSCE SIGNATORY STATES AND WILL HAVE AS THEIR OBJECTIVE TO BUILD UPON AND EXPAND THE RESULTS OF THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE; THE AGREEMENT REACHED THERE MARKED A SIGNIFICANT STEP TOWARDS REDUCING THE RISK OF WAR IN EUROPE. FULLY IMPLEMENTED, OVER TIME, IT WOULD CREATE

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MORE TRANSPARENCY AND CONTRIBUTE TO GREATER CONFIDENCE AND PREDICTABILITY OF MILITARY ACTIVITIES IN THE WHOLE OF EUROPE. THE MOMENTUM GENERATED BY STOCKHOLM MUST BE MAINTAINED.

- 11.
AT THE SAME TIME WE ARE CONSCIOUS OF THE SPECIFIC RESPONSIBILITY OF THE 23 MEMBERS OF THE TWO MILITARY ALLIANCES IN EUROPE WHOSE FORCES BEAR MOST DIRECTLY ON THE ESSENTIAL SECURITY RELATIONSHIP IN EUROPE. HENCE OUR DECISION THAT DISTINCT AND AUTONOMOUS NEGOTIATIONS ON

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CONVENTIONAL STABILITY SHOULD TAKE PLACE BETWEEN THE 23 STATES.

- 12.
THE ADOPTION OF MANDATES FOR BOTH OF THE NEGOTIATIONS MUST BE PART OF A BALANCED OUTCOME TO THE VIENNA CSCE FOLLOW-UP MEETING, WHICH NECESSITATES SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS IN ALL AREAS OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT.

- C. THE ALLIES' OBJECTIVES

- 13.
IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF OUR APPROACH TO CONVENTIONAL ARMS CONTROL, AS SET OUT IN THE BRUSSELS DECLARATION, OUR OBJECTIVES IN THE FORTHCOMING CONVENTIONAL STABILITY NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE:

- THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SECURE AND STABLE BALANCE OF CONVENTIONAL FORCES AT LOWER LEVELS;

- THE ELIMINATION OF DISPARITIES PREJUDICIAL TO STABILITY AND SECURITY;

- AND, AS A MATTER OF HIGH PRIORITY, THE ELIMINATION OF THE CAPABILITY FOR LAUNCHING SURPRISE ATTACK AND FOR INITIATING LARGE-SCALE OFFENSIVE ACTION.

- 14.
THIS LATTER CAPABILITY IS THE MOST WORRYING IN RELATION TO THE SEIZURE OF TERRITORY BY AN AGGRESSOR. ITS ESSENTIAL INGREDIENT IS THE FORWARD DEPLOYMENT OF CONVENTIONAL FORCES CAPABLE OF RAPID MOBILITY AND HIGH FIREPOWER. TANKS AND ARTILLERY ARE AMONG THE MOST DECISIVE COMPONENTS, THOUGH OTHER ELEMENTS OF COMBAT CAPABILITY COULD PROVE TO BE SIMILARLY SIGNIFICANT. MANPOWER IS ALSO IMPORTANT. BUT NOT ALL ITEMS OF EQUIPMENT ARE APPROPRIATE FOR LIMITATION, IF ONLY FOR TECHNICAL REASONS, AND MANPOWER ALONE IS AN IMPRECISE GUIDE TO OFFENSIVE CAPABILITY.

- 15.
OUR AIM WILL BE TO ESTABLISH A SITUATION IN EUROPE IN WHICH FORCES POSTURES AS WELL AS THE NUMBERS AND DEPLOYMENTS OF WEAPON SYSTEMS NO LONGER MAKE SURPRISE ATTACK AND LARGE SCALE OFFENSIVE ACTION A FEASIBLE OPTION. WE SHALL PURSUE THIS AIM ON THE BASIS OF THE FOLLOING CRITERIA:

- WE NEED TO ENHANCE STABILITY IN THE WHOLE OF EUROPE FROM THE ATLANTIC TO THE URALS; AND TO DO SO IN A WAY WHICH, WHILE SAFEGUARDING THE SECURITY OF ALL ALLIES, TAKES ACCOUNT OF THE CONCENTRATIONS OF WARSAW PACT FORCES AND THE PARTICULAR PROBLEMS AFFECTING THE CENTRAL, SOUTHERN AND NORTHERN REGIONS;

- IN SEEKING TO ELIMINATE THE ABILITY TO CONDUCT LARGE-SCALE OFFENSIVE ACTION, WE SHALL FOCUS ON THE KEY WEAPON SYSTEMS;

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TAGS: NATO,
SUBJECT: LETTER TO SENATOR PELL

WE SHALL PROPOSE PROVISIONS DEALING WITH STATIONED FORCES, TAKING ACCOUNT OF THE WEIGHT OF FORWARD DEPLOYED SOVIET CONVENTIONAL FORCES; WE SHALL ALSO TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION CAPABILITIES FOR FORCE GENERATION AND REINFORCEMENT;

EQUAL NUMBER OR PERCENTAGE REDUCTIONS BY BOTH SIDES WOULD NOT ELIMINATE THE DISPARITIES WHICH THREATEN STABILITY IN EUROPE. OUR PROPOSALS WILL CONCENTRATE INSTEAD ON RESULTS AND RESIDUAL ENTITLEMENTS;

OUR GOAL IS TO REDRESS THE CONVENTIONAL IMBALANCE. THIS CAN BE ACHIEVED THROUGH A SET OF MEASURES INCLUDING, INTER ALIA, REDUCTIONS, LIMITATIONS, REDEPLOYMENT PROVISIONS AND RELATED MEASURES AS WELL AS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF EQUAL CEILINGS;

THIS OUTCOME WILL REQUIRE HIGHLY ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS BY THE EAST AND WILL ENTAIL, FOR EXAMPLE, THE ELIMINATION FROM EUROPE OF TENS OF THOUSANDS OF WARSAW PACT WEAPONS RELEVANT TO SURPRISE ATTACK, AMONG THEM TANKS AND ARTILLERY PIECES;

REDUCTIONS OF COMBAT-DECISIVE EQUIPMENT AND MODIFICATION OF THE SOVIET FORWARD DEPLOYMENT POSTURE WILL ONLY BE PART OF OUR APPROACH TO REDUCING THE RISK OF CONFLICT. AS A CONCURRENT ELEMENT IN ANY EFFORT TO ENHANCE STABILITY AND SECURITY, WE SHALL ALSO PROPOSE MEASURES TO PRODUCE GREATER OPENNESS OF MILITARY ACTIVITIES THROUGHOUT EUROPE, SAFEGUARD THE MAINTENANCE OF LOWER FORCE LEVELS, AND SUPPORT A RIGOROUS, EFFECTIVE AND RELIABLE MONITORING AND VERIFICATION REGIME;

THIS MONITORING AND VERIFICATION REGIME WILL NEED TO INCLUDE THE EXCHANGE OF DETAILED DATA ABOUT FORCES AND DEPLOYMENTS; AND THE RIGHT TO CONDUCT SUFFICIENT ON-SITE INSPECTIONS TO PROVIDE CONFIDENCE THAT AGREED PROVISIONS ARE BEING COMPLIED WITH.

D. THE WAY AHEAD.

16.
EARLY AGREEMENT ON A CONVENTIONAL STABILITY MANDATE, AS PART OF A BALANCED OUTCOME TO THE VIENNA FOLLOW-UP MEETING OF THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE, WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT STEP FORWARD. WE SEEK THE ELIMINATION OF THE CONVENTIONAL IMBALANCES WHICH SO THREATEN STABILITY AND SECURITY IN EUROPE. WE ALSO SEEK ENHANCED RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS ON WHICH LASTING SECURITY AND STABILITY ULTIMATELY DEPEND.

(FOOTNOTE: GREECE RECALLS ITS POSITION ON NUCLEAR MATTERS.)

END TEXT.

4. BEGIN FINAL DECLARATION, ISSUED MARCH 3 BY NATO HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT:

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- DECLARATION OF THE HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT
- PARTICIPATING IN THE MEETING OF THE
- NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL IN BRUSSELS
- -----

- (2ND-3RD MARCH 1988)
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- A TIME FOR REAFFIRMATION
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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: NATO.

SUBJECT: LETTER TO SENATOR PELL

-
WE, THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SIXTEEN MEMBERS OF THE
NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE, HAVE COME TOGETHER TO
RE-EMPHASIZE OUR UNITY, TO ASSESS THE CURRENT STATE OF
EAST-WEST RELATIONS, TO REVIEW THE OPPORTUNITIES AND
CHALLENGES WHICH LIE AHEAD, AND IN SO DOING:

-
-
TO REAFFIRM THE COMMON IDEALS AND PURPOSES WHICH ARE THE
FOUNDATION OF OUR PARTNERSHIP;

-
-
TO REDEDICATE OURSELVES TO THE PRINCIPLES AND PROVISIONS
-
OF THE WASHINGTON TREATY OF 1949;

-
-
TO REASSERT THE VITAL IMPORTANCE OF THE ALLIANCE FOR OUR
SECURITY, AND THE VALIDITY OF OUR STRATEGY FOR PEACE.

THE PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES OF OUR ALLIANCE
- -----

- 2.
OUR ALLIANCE IS A VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION OF FREE AND
DEMOCRATIC EQUALS, UNITED BY COMMON INTERESTS AND
VALUES. IT IS UNPRECEDENTED IN ITS SCOPE AND SUCCESS.
OUR SECURITY IS INDIVISIBLE. OUR ALLIANCE IS DEDICATED
TO PRESERVING PEACE IN FREEDOM AND TO COLLECTIVE
SELF-DEFENCE, AS RECOGNISED BY THE UNITED NATIONS
CHARTER. NONE OF OUR WEAPONS WILL EVER BE USED EXCEPT IN
RESPONSE TO ATTACK.

- 3.
OUR CONCEPT OF A BALANCED SECURITY POLICY AS SET OUT IN
THE HARMEL REPORT HAS SUCCESSFULLY STOOD THE TEST OF
TIME. IT REMAINS VALID IN ITS TWO COMPLEMENTARY AND
MUTUALLY REINFORCING APPROACHES: POLITICAL SOLIDARITY
AND ADEQUATE MILITARY STRENGTH, AND, ON THAT BASIS, THE
SEARCH FOR CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE AND CO-OPERATION,
INCLUDING ARMS CONTROL. THE ULTIMATE POLITICAL PURPOSE
OF OUR ALLIANCE IS TO ACHIEVE A JUST AND LASTING PEACEFUL
ORDER IN EUROPE.

- 4.
THE SECURITY IN FREEDOM AND THE PROSPERITY OF THE
EUROPEAN AND NORTH AMERICAN ALLIES ARE INEXTRICABLY
LINKED. THE LONG-STANDING COMMITMENT OF THE NORTH
AMERICAN DEMOCRACIES TO THE PRESERVATION OF PEACE AND
SECURITY IN EUROPE IS VITAL. THE PRESENCE IN EUROPE OF

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THE CONVENTIONAL AND NUCLEAR FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES PROVIDES THE ESSENTIAL LINKAGE WITH THE UNITED STATES STRATEGIC DETERRENT, AND, TOGETHER WITH THE FORCES OF CANADA, IS A TANGIBLE EXPRESSION OF THAT COMMITMENT. THIS PRESENCE MUST AND WILL BE MAINTAINED.

LIKewise, A FREE, INDEPENDENT AND INCREASINGLY UNITED EUROPE IS VITAL TO NORTH AMERICA'S SECURITY. THE

CREDIBILITY OF ALLIED DEFENCE CANNOT BE MAINTAINED WITHOUT A MAJOR EUROPEAN CONTRIBUTION. WE THEREFORE WELCOME RECENT EFFORTS TO REINFORCE THE EUROPEAN PILLAR OF THE ALLIANCE, INTENDED TO STRENGTHEN THE TRANSATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP AND ALLIANCE SECURITY AS A WHOLE.

THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE CANNOT BE STRONG IF EUROPE IS WEAK.

5.
OUR AIM WILL CONTINUE TO BE TO PREVENT ANY KIND OF WAR OR INTIMIDATION. BY MAINTAINING CREDIBLE DETERRENCE THE ALLIANCE HAS SECURED PEACE IN EUROPE FOR NEARLY FORTY UNCLAS SECTION 07 OF 09 USNATO 01315

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YEARS. CONVENTIONAL DEFENCES ALONE CANNOT ENSURE THIS; THEREFORE, FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE TO THE ALLIANCE STRATEGY FOR THE PREVENTION OF WAR. THIS IS A STRATEGY OF DETERRENCE BASED UPON AN APPROPRIATE MIX OF ADEQUATE AND EFFECTIVE NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL FORCES WHICH WILL CONTINUE TO BE KEPT UP TO DATE WHERE NECESSARY.

6.
WHILE SEEKING SECURITY AND STABILITY AT LOWER LEVELS OF ARMAMENTS, WE ARE DETERMINED TO SUSTAIN THE REQUISITE EFFORTS TO ENSURE THE CONTINUED VIABILITY, CREDIBILITY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF OUR CONVENTIONAL AND NUCLEAR FORCES, INCLUDING THE NUCLEAR FORCES IN EUROPE, WHICH TOGETHER PROVIDE THE GUARANTEE OF OUR COMMON SECURITY. TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE STRUCTURE OF THE ALLIANCE, EACH OF US UNDERTAKES TO PLAY HIS PART IN THIS JOINT ENDEAVOUR IN A SPIRIT OF SOLIDARITY, REAFFIRMING OUR WILLINGNESS TO SHARE FAIRLY THE RISKS, BURDENS AND RESPONSIBILITIES AS WELL AS THE BENEFITS OF OUR COMMON EFFORTS.

7.
WE SEEK A JUST AND STABLE CONDITION OF PEACE IN WHICH THE SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF ALL STATES ARE RESPECTED AND THE RIGHTS OF ALL INDIVIDUALS, INCLUDING THEIR RIGHT OF POLITICAL CHOICE, ARE PROTECTED.

WE WANT GRADUALLY TO OVERCOME THE UNNATURAL DIVISION OF THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT, WHICH AFFECTS MOST DIRECTLY THE GERMAN PEOPLE. WE WILL CONTINUE TO UPHOLD THE FREEDOM AND VIABILITY OF BERLIN AND TO SUPPORT EFFORTS TO IMPROVE

THE SITUATION THERE.

THE SEARCH FOR IMPROVED AND MORE STABLE RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND THE OTHER COUNTRIES OF EASTERN

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EUROPE IS AMONG OUR PRINCIPAL CONCERNS. WE CALL UPON THESE COUNTRIES TO WORK WITH US FOR A FURTHER RELAXATION OF TENSIONS, GREATER SECURITY AT LOWER LEVELS OF ARMS, MORE EXTENSIVE HUMAN CONTACTS AND INCREASED ACCESS TO INFORMATION. WE WILL CONTINUE THE EFFORT TO EXPAND CO-OPERATION WITH THE EAST WHEREVER AND WHENEVER THIS IS OF MUTUAL BENEFIT.

EAST-WEST RELATIONS: THE WAY AHEAD

- 8.
WE HAVE NOTED ENCOURAGING SIGNS OF CHANGE IN THE POLICIES OF THE SOVIET UNION AND SOME OF ITS ALLIES. THIS CREATES THE PROSPECT FOR GREATER OPENNESS IN THEIR RELATIONS WITH THEIR OWN PEOPLES AND WITH OTHER NATIONS. WE WELCOME SUCH PROGRESS AS HAS BEEN ALREADY ACHIEVED IN CERTAIN AREAS. BUT WE LOOK BEYOND PRONOUNCEMENTS FOR TANGIBLE AND LASTING POLICY CHANGES ADDRESSING DIRECTLY THE ISSUES DIVIDING EAST AND WEST.

- 9.
HOWEVER, WE HAVE TO DATE WITNESSED NO RELAXATION OF THE MILITARY EFFORT PURSUED FOR YEARS BY THE SOVIET UNION. THE SOVIET UNION PERSISTS IN DEPLOYING FAR GREATER MILITARY FORCES THAN ARE REQUIRED FOR ITS DEFENCE. THIS MASSIVE FORCE, WHICH THE SOVIET UNION HAS NOT REFRAINED FROM USING OUTSIDE ITS BORDERS, AS IS STILL THE CASE IN AFGHANISTAN, CONSTITUTES A FUNDAMENTAL SOURCE OF TENSION BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. THE STEADY GROWTH OF SOVIET MILITARY CAPABILITIES, AS IT AFFECTS EVERY REGION OF THE ALLIANCE, REQUIRES OUR CONSTANT ATTENTION.

- 10.
WE WILL CONTINUE TO BE STEADFAST IN THE PURSUIT OF OUR SECURITY POLICIES, MAINTAINING THE EFFECTIVE DEFENCES AND CREDIBLE DETERRENCE THAT FORM THE NECESSARY BASIS FOR CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE WITH THE EAST INCLUDING ON ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT MATTERS.

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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: NATO,

SUBJECT: LETTER TO SENATOR PELL

TO MEET OUR SECURITY NEEDS IN THE YEARS TO COME WILL REQUIRE EVER GREATER EFFICIENCIES IN THE APPLICATION OF OUR SCARCE RESOURCES. WE ARE THEREFORE DETERMINED TO EXPAND OUR PRACTICAL CO-OPERATION IN THE FIELD OF ARMAMENTS PROCUREMENT AND ELSEWHERE. IN THIS CONTEXT WE RECOGNISE THE CHALLENGES TO OUR INDUSTRIALLY LESS ADVANCED ALLIES AND THE NEED TO ADDRESS THEM THROUGH MUTUAL ASSISTANCE AND CO-OPERATION.

11.
ARMS CONTROL IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF OUR SECURITY POLICY. WE SEEK NEGOTIATIONS NOT FOR THEIR OWN SAKE BUT TO REACH AGREEMENTS WHICH CAN SIGNIFICANTLY REDUCE THE RISK OF CONFLICT AND MAKE A GENUINE CONTRIBUTION TO STABILITY AND PEACE. WE SHALL WORK TOGETHER VIGOROUSLY AND ON THE BASIS OF THE CLOSEST CONSULTATION TO THIS END.

- 12.
OUR REPRESENTATIVES TO THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL CONTINUE ACTIVELY THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF A COMPREHENSIVE CONCEPT OF ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AS

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DIRECTED IN THE STATEMENT OF OUR MINISTERS AT REYKJAVIK
IN JUNE 1987.

- 13.

THE RECENTLY CONCLUDED INF AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE U.S. AND THE SOVIET UNION IS A MILESTONE IN OUR EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A MORE SECURE PEACE AND LOWER LEVELS OF ARMS. IT IS THE IMPRESSIVE RESULT OF THE POLITICAL COURAGE, THE REALISM AND THE UNITY OF THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE. THE TREATY'S PROVISIONS ON STRINGENT VERIFICATION AND ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS PROVIDE USEFUL PRECEDENTS FOR FUTURE AGREEMENTS. WE LOOK FORWARD TO ITS EARLY ENTRY INTO FORCE.

- 14.

CONSISTENT WITH THEIR SECURITY REQUIREMENTS, THE FIFTEEN ALLIES CONCERNED WILL MAKE USE OF ALL POSSIBILITIES FOR EFFECTIVELY VERIFIABLE ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS WHICH LEAD TO A STABLE AND SECURE BALANCE OF FORCES AT A LOWER LEVEL. FOR THEM, THE COMPREHENSIVE CONCEPT OF ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT INCLUDES:

-
A 50 PERCENT REDUCTION IN THE STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE NUCLEAR WEAPONS OF THE U.S. AND THE SOVIET UNION TO BE ACHIEVED DURING CURRENT GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS;

-
THE GLOBAL ELIMINATION OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS;

-
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A STABLE AND SECURE LEVEL OF CONVENTIONAL FORCES, BY THE ELIMINATION OF DISPARITIES, IN THE WHOLE OF EUROPE;

-
IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CONVENTIONAL BALANCE AND THE GLOBAL ELIMINATION OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS, TANGIBLE AND VERIFIABLE REDUCTIONS OF AMERICAN AND SOVIET LAND-BASED NUCLEAR MISSILE SYSTEMS OF SHORTER RANGE, LEADING TO EQUAL CEILINGS.

- 15.

RECOGNIZING THE URGENCY AND CENTRAL IMPORTANCE OF ADDRESSING CONVENTIONAL FORCE IMBALANCES IN EUROPE, WE HAVE ADOPTED A SEPARATE STATEMENT ON CONVENTIONAL ARMS CONTROL.

- 16.

THE RESOLUTION OF EAST-WEST DIFFERENCES WILL REQUIRE PROGRESS IN MANY FIELDS. GENUINE PEACE IN EUROPE CANNOT BE ESTABLISHED SOLELY BY ARMS CONTROL. IT MUST BE FIRMLY BASED ON FULL RESPECT FOR FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS. AS UNCLAS SECTION 09 OF 09 USNATO 01315

OPCENTER PLEASE ALERT EUR/RPM UPON RECEIPT

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: NATO,

SUBJECT: LETTER TO SENATOR PELL

WE CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS TO REDUCE ARMAMENTS. WE SHALL PRESS FOR IMPLEMENTATION ON THE PART OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE SOVIET UNION AND OF OTHER EASTERN COUNTRIES OF ALL OF THE PRINCIPLES AND PROVISIONS OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT AND OF THE MADRID CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. WE SUPPORT THE CONTINUATION AND STRENGTHENING OF THE CSCE PROCESS. IT REPRESENTS AN IMPORTANT MEANS OF PROMOTING STABLE AND CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONS ON A LONG TERM BASIS BETWEEN

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COUNTRIES OF EAST AND WEST, AND, MOREOVER, ENHANCES CLOSER AND MORE FRUITFUL CONTACTS BETWEEN PEOPLES AND INDIVIDUALS THROUGHOUT EUROPE. WE CALL UPON ALL PARTICIPATING STATES TO MAKE EVERY EFFORT FOR AN EARLY CONCLUSION TO THE CSCE FOLLOW-UP MEETING IN VIENNA WITH A SUBSTANTIAL AND BALANCED FINAL DOCUMENT.

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- 17.

WE AGREE THAT THE SPEEDY AND COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET TROOPS FROM AFGHANISTAN AND THE EFFECTIVE RESTORATION OF THAT COUNTRY'S SOVEREIGNTY WOULD BE OF MAJOR SIGNIFICANCE. IT IS AGAINST THESE CRITERIA THAT WE SHALL ASSESS GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV'S RECENT STATEMENTS.

- 18.

WE HOPE THAT AT THEIR FORTHCOMING SUMMIT IN MOSCOW PRESIDENT REAGAN AND GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV WILL BE ABLE TO BUILD UPON THE PROGRESS ACHIEVED AT THEIR WASHINGTON MEETING LAST DECEMBER. WE STRONGLY SUPPORT THE EFFORTS OF THE UNITED STATES. THESE FULLY ACCORD WITH OUR CONSISTENT POLICY TO SEEK, THROUGH HIGH-LEVEL DIALOGUE, EARLY AND SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS WITH THE SOVIET UNION ON A FULL RANGE OF ISSUES, INCLUDING GREATER RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, ARMS CONTROL, A LESSENING OF REGIONAL TENSIONS, AND IMPROVED OPPORTUNITIES FOR BILATERAL CONTACTS AND CO-OPERATION.

- 19.

REFLECTING UPON ALMOST FOUR DECADES OF COMMON ENDEAVOUR AND SACRIFICE AND UPON THE RESULTS ACHIEVED, WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT THE PRINCIPLES AND PURPOSES OF OUR ALLIANCE REMAIN VALID TODAY AND FOR THE FUTURE. WE ARE UNITED IN OUR EFFORTS TO ENSURE A WORLD OF MORE SECURE PEACE AND GREATER FREEDOM. WE WILL MEET THE OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES AHEAD WITH IMAGINATION AND HOPE, AS WELL AS WITH FIRMNESS AND VIGILANCE. WE OWE NO LESS TO OUR PEOPLES.

(FOOTNOTE: GREECE RECALLS ITS POSITION ON NUCLEAR MATTERS.)

END TEXT.
KEEL

END OF MESSAGE

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